

ISTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE  
ANNALI

SEZIONE LINGUISTICA  
a cura di Walter Belardi

I, 2

novembre 1959

INDICE

A. J. Van Windekens, <i>Sur la structure et la flexion de tokharien A ko et ki, B keu 'vache'</i> . . . . .	p. 107
H. W. Bailey, <i>Ambages Indo-iranicae</i> . . . . .	113
W. Belardi, <i>Arabo qal'a</i> . . . . .	147
L. Zgusta, <i>Skythisch οἰόματα « ἀνδροπόντοι »</i> . . . . .	151
F. B. J. Kuiper, <i>The Etymology of Greek ἀλγῆ 'Grief, Sorrow, Distress, Trouble'</i> . . . . .	157
I. Popović, <i>Illyro-Slavica</i> . . . . .	165
— <i>Les noms slaves de 'printemps'</i> . . . . .	177
W. R. Schmalstieg, <i>The Alternation e/a in Old Prussian: A Phonemic Interpretation</i> . . . . .	191
A. Klimas, <i>The Spread of Primitive Germanic *kuningaz in non-Germanic Languages</i> . . . . .	197
W. Belardi, <i>L'innovazione semantica del romeno antico țărănure</i> . . . . .	213
M. Mayrhofer, <i>Sprachwissenschaftliche indische Festschriften aus den letzten zehn Jahren</i> . . . . .	225
<i>Pubblicazioni ricevute</i> . . . . .	241
<i>Indice lessicale</i> . . . . .	259

Per il contenuto del prossimo volume vedi la terza pagina di copertina.

*I Sigg. Collaboratori sono pregati di osservare attentamente le norme redazionali. L'opuscolo delle norme è inviato in omaggio su richiesta.*  
*Le pubblicazioni periodiche e non periodiche, inviate per cambio, recensione o omaggio, la corrispondenza e i manoscritti vanno indirizzati — se concernenti la Sezione linguistica — unicamente al redattore della Sezione:*

W. Belardi, viale dei quattro venti 166, Roma.

*Non si accettano cambi con periodici che non tocchino argomenti di linguistica o filologia.*

Prezzo del presente fascicolo L. 1.600

(per le sottoscrizioni pervenute entro il 10 luglio: Estero L. 1.400, Italia L. 900)

Il versamento va eseguito con vaglia postale internazionale o sul c.c.p. 1/1824, intestati al Dott. G. Bardi, editore, Salita de' Crescenzi 16, Roma.

thématique \*o > tokh. a (à l'intérieur des mots) figure comme voyelle caractéristique dans le premier terme de beaucoup de composés tokhariens (A)<sup>1</sup>.

5. La notion « bovin, vache » revêt donc les formes suivantes en tokharien: \*g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>ūi- (A *ko* avec le nominatif pl. *kowi*, B *ken*), \*g<sup>h</sup>o<sup>h</sup>ūio- (B *kewiye*, etc.), \*g<sup>h</sup>ūio-, etc. (A *ki*), \*g<sup>h</sup>ūo- (*ka-* dans A *kayurş*, B *kaurşe*).

A. J. Van Windekens.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 135 s.

## AMBAGES INDOIRANICAE

- I. Iranian *t'ēlay*, -*vīya-*, *kalāka-*.
- II. Iranian *ērāy*.
- III. Iranian *karasta-*.
- IV. Khotanese *haura-*.
- V. Khotanese *buīysna\**.

### I. Iranian *t'ēlay*, -*vīya-*, *kalāka-*.

#### 1. *t'ēlay* 'eyeball'.

This isolated word for 'eyeball' is retained in Balōči Eastern dialect *t'ēlay*<sup>1</sup>, Western dialect *t'ēlāy* and *t'ēlāž*<sup>2</sup>. It was recently possible to get the form *t'ēlay* confirmed by a speaker of eastern Balōči, by name Marri. The second syllable of his *tēlay* has the [A] sound of *a*; aspiration is not marked.

\* The following abridged titles have been used:

- KT* = H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, I-III;
- KBT* = H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*;
- Madu* = H. W. Bailey, *Madu, A Contribution to the History of Wine*, in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo*, Kyoto University, 1954, pp. 1-11;
- Donum Nyberg* = *Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum*;
- EVP* = G. Morgenstierne, *Etym. Vocab. of Pashto*;
- IIFL* = G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, I-III;
- WP* = A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterb. der indogerm. Sprachen*;
- Pok.* = J. Pokorny, *Indogerm. etymol. Wörterb.*;
- « BSOAS » = « Bull. of School of Orient. and Afr. Studies »;
- « TPS » = « Trans. Philol. Soc. ».

<sup>1</sup> M. Longworth Dames, *A Sketch of the Northern Balochi Language*, 1881, p. 63; *A Text-Book of the Balochi Language*, 1913, p. 29. The word is absent from G. W. Gilbertson, *English-Balochi Colloquial Dictionary*, I, p. 234. It is not in W. Geiger, *Etym. d. Balūči*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Mayer's *English-Biluchi Dictionary*, 1909, p. 66 has for 'eyeball' three words *t'ēlāy*, *t'ēlāž* and *didox* (printed *thilāgh*, *thilāzh*, *didokh*).

The only earlier form so far detected is attested in the Pāzand *Škand-gumānīk vičār* (5.67, 70, 72). Here occurs *θādaa xʷat vīnāi hast čun vīnāi i andar āβ*. Sansk. *bimbaṃ svayaṃ nirīkṣaṇaṃ yathā nirīkṣaṇam antar jāle*.

The word *θādaa* is thus 'the eyeball'.<sup>1</sup> Pāzand *θ-* represents Zor. Pahl. *t-*. Hence the word derives from older *\*tātaka-*.

The word *\*tēta-* is maintained also in other New Iranian sources. Thus there is Yidya *tēiko*, *tāiko* 'eyeball' from *tēi-* with the new suffix *-ko-*, familiar in Munj. *kāyako* '(wide part) interior of throat', Sogd. *k'γkh* 'palate'. Parāčī *tēi* 'eye' can be explained by the same *tē-* with *-č-* suffix, older *-čā-* or *-čī-*. In western Iranian occurs Baxtiārī *tē*, *tī*, 'eye', *tī-um* 'my eye', also *tīʷā*, *tīʷā*.<sup>2</sup>

Intervocalic *-t-* was replaced by *-y-* in Yidya. In Baxtiārī *-t-* is kept as *-δ-*. Hence in *tē* 'eye' we may have an older *\*taya-* or *\*tayā-* as agent word 'the watcher, seer' formed like Avest. *daya-*, OInd. *ajā-*. For the 'eyeball' as the 'seer' note Pašto *lēma* 'eyeball' beside Avest. *daēman-* 'eye', Zor. Pahl. *dēm* 'face'. In *\*tātaka-* the meaning will be 'seer' with older *-ta-* of agent, or the *-ta-* arising from the nom. sing. of the agent suffix *-tar-*, as in NPers. *dōst* 'friend' from OPers. *dauštar-*. Similarly Armenian has preserved *dēt* 'spy' from *\*daitā*, and *parēt* 'inspector, president' from *\*pa-daitā*, or *\*pari-daitā*. Balōčī (East and West) *dīdōx* 'eyeball' corresponds to NPers. *dīdah* 'eye, pupil of eye'.

From these various forms we reach back to a base *tai-/tī-* 'see, look, watch' (for which I had long sought), of which traces exist in earlier Iranian and OIndian, but none so far noted in verbal use.

The complex problem cannot be fully treated here, but may be briefly indicated. Plutarch<sup>3</sup> reporting Persian views stated:

<sup>1</sup> Translation E. W. West 'pupil of eye', by de Menasce 'rétine', replaced by an equivalent of NPers. *dīdah*.

<sup>2</sup> *IIFL*, II, p. 254, Yidya; *IIFL*, I, p. 292 and II, p. 254, Parāčī (with doubts, since no *tai-* was known). D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Phonology of the Bakh-tiari, Badakhshani, and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian*, 1922, p. 27 and 112. O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme in südwestlichen Persien*, 1910, p. 192 (87,6; 95,3; 97,1; 100,5; 107,7).

<sup>3</sup> *De Iside et Osiride*, 47; Bidez-Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, II, p. 70-72.

ὁ μὲν Ὠρομάζης... τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκόσμησεν· ἓνα δ' ἀστέρα πρὸ πάντων οἶον φύλακα καὶ προόπτην ἐγκατέστησα, τὸν Σεῖριον.

This Seirios, Sirius star, the Dog-star, here called φύλαξ 'watcher' and προόπτης 'scout', is called in Avestan *Tištrya-* and described *Yašt* 8.44 *yim ratūm paiti.daēmča vīspaēšqm stārqm fradaθat ahurō mazdā*, that is, «whom Ahura Mazda created the chief and inspector of all the stars». In one name of the Avesta *Tīrō.nakaθwa-* (*Yašt* 13.126) we find the divine name *Tīra-*. In western Iranian traces of this name are frequent, as in the name *Tiridatēs*. In Zor. Pahlavi books (*Great Bund.*, 37.6) *Tīr* is identified with Avestan *Tištrya-*. The analysis of *tī-ra-* from a base *\*tai-/tī-* would give 'seer, watcher', as we have *jīra-* 'lively' from *gai-/jī-* 'live', and the like. In *tištrya-* we have by analysis *tiš-* with the agent suffix *-tr-* and adjectival *-ya-*, formed like Pašto *kašai* 'mattock' from older *\*kanstryā-*, beside Avest. *kastra-* 'spade'. This gives a secondary base *\*tai-š-/tī-š-* formed by the frequent *-s-* enlargement. Hence *tištrya-* 'watcher' is explained in the Avesta by less archaic *paiti.dayā-*.

From OIndian belongs here the divine name *Tiṣyā-*, *Tiṣyā-*, an archer with *Kṛśānu-* (*Rgv.* 10.64.8), and a Vedic name applied to the sixth *nākṣatra-* 'lunar mansion'. Here we can at once analyse by *tiṣ-yā-*, with the *-ya-* suffix of agent as in *Rgv.* *ātya-* 'runner', *Atharvav.* *vahyā-* 'vehicle'. Association with Iran. *Tīra-* and *Tištrya-* would assure a meaning 'seer, looker, watcher'.

In passing here we may note that OInd. *Pūṣya-* is the equivalent of *Tiṣya-* the *nākṣatra-*, and contains a base *puṣ-* from *pū-* 'to watch (herds)', on which details must be given elsewhere.

The nominal derivative *tī-* 'watching' is attested in an OPersian word preserved in Aramaic *typt-* (Elephantine papyri) and *tpt-* in Biblical Aramaic (*Daniel* 3.2). This is *\*tī-pati-*, the title of a police officer occurring between the *dyny* 'magistrates' and the *gwšky* 'listeners' (OPers. *\*gaušaka-*). The Greek in

<sup>1</sup> The use of a word 'to see' in the sense of 'watching cattle' can be found in the familiar Oss. *kāsun* 'look', *fālgāsun* 'look around', occurring in many compounds (V. Abaev in Kasaev's *Dictionary*, p. 607): Iron *gom-gās* 'herdsman', *bāx-gās*, *uāly-gās*, *rod-gās*, *xū-gās*, and also of the forester *gād-gās*.

Ktēsiās gave \*Tῑβέθωϛ in gen. sing. Tῑβέθωϛ as a eunuch of Kambyses<sup>1</sup>. Other possible cognates will be pointed out later.

2. Khot. -vīya-, Armen. -uēt, NPers. -bēl.

In Khotanese a second component -vīya- often occurs added to nouns. Thus the following can be cited *S* 2471.199, *A* 13 a 1, *KBT*, 97 *aurgavīya-* 'having honour, *vandanīya*', *E* 6.64 *aur-savīya-*, *Siddhasāra* 15 r 4 *khaśi* vīya- 'for drinking, Sansk. *pāne*, Tib. *btuñ-ba*', ibid. 6 r 4 *jehavīyi āchā* 'curable diseases, *sādhya-*', *P* 3510.6.8, *KBT*, 51. *tcerāvīyi*, *Sw. bh.* 65 a 5 *haysguṣṭānavīya-* 'troublesome, *āyāsa-*', *P* 2958.50, *KBT*, 41 *ṣṭikūlavīyi*, *P* 2787.115, *KT*, II.105 *bya* hīvīyi, *P* 3513.72 r 1, *KT*, I.248 *dyavīya-* 'lovely, *sudarśana-*', *Jātakastava* 22 r 4 *dukhavīya*, *Sw. bh.* 24 v 3, *KT*, I.235 *amanāvavīyā* 'unpleasant, *nirabhiramyā-*', *Ch* 00266.156, *KBT*, 27 *attapūravīye strriye* 'women of the zenanah'. The shorter form occurs in *Siddhasāra* 155 r 1 *malaigqvi* 'having catarrh, *pratiśyāyi*', ibid. 144 v 5 *borṣaivi* 'protruding, Tib. *grugs dan bur-ba*', *P* 2798.198, *KBT*, 44 *piśāravī* 'disgusting'. A variant suffix is attested in -vīha-. Thus we have *P* 2025.235, *KBT*, 19 *adapūravīha strriye*, *P* 2026.17, *KT* 3.49 *piśāravīha*.

The Khotanese form -vīya- may be taken to indicate -vīta- from older \*vaita-. This will be confirmed in the sequel. But it must be noted that the intervocalic -v- may derive from older -v-, -b- or -p-, and the -īya- may represent older -īta-, -īxta- or -axta-. The absence of the spelling -vīta- may be compared to the occurrence of frequent *sīya-* 'learned' beside the one case of *sīte* in *Kha* 1.13, 137 v 1, *KBT*, 2<sup>2</sup>.

I would see this *vait-* in various words meaning 'grow extensively, rankly'. It gives the word for 'root' in Oss.

<sup>1</sup> This *typt-*, *tpt-* has already been many times discussed, but without recognition of the base *tai-/ti-*. The more recent places are I. Scheftelowitz, «Scripta Universitatis et Bibliothecae Hierosolymitanarum», 1923, p. 15; E. Benveniste, «Journ. asiatique» 1934, 2, p. 185; «TPS» 1945, pp. 67-8; Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, 2, p. 68; H. H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge*, p. 65; W. B. Henning, *Män. Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 90, n. 1. On *gauśaka-*, see «TPS», 1956, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Earlier explanations are in the Glossary to *E* and S. Konow, *Saka Studies*.

Dig. *īedāgā*, Iron *ūdāg* from \*vaitāka-, beside Sogd. Buddh. Man. *wyyh*, NPers. *bēx*, Pašto *wēx*, Parāčī *bīx*, *γix*, Sangl. *wēx* 'root', from \*vaixa- \*vayaxa- or \*vayuxa-. Wañetsī *wīye*, Pašto *wula* 'root fibre', and Yaynābī *wīta* 'rope'<sup>1</sup> contain \*vaita. Avest. *vaēiti-*, Yidya *wīya*, NPers. *bēd*, Khot. *bī*, Pašto *wala* 'willow' represent older \*vaiti-. The Khotanese -vīha- replaces older \*vayaxa-. The same base gives OInd. *veta-*, *vetasā-s*, *vetra-*, Lat. *vītis*. Near to the basic verbal meaning is Celt. Ir. participle *imbithe* 'fenced round', Welsh *gwden* 'bond'; Ir. *fēith* 'fibre'.

Here now the common Armenian suffix -uēt 'abounding in, full of' is of service. It is attested from the oldest Armenian in many words, originally compounds, before the -uēt became a suffix<sup>2</sup>.

The Iranian origin of -uēt can be established by comparison with Khot. -vīya-, and by the NPersian word quoted below. Examples are numerous. Thus in the Old Testament *hac'auēt eu aygauēt* (Isaiah 36.17), and later *hotauēt oṭar* 'perfumed soap', *xotauēt dašt* 'grassy field' *p'aytauēt* 'woody', *pṭauēt*, *pṭalic* 'fertile', *mrgauēt* 'fruitful', *daštauēt* 'abounding in open country', *hac'auēt* 'producing corn in abundance', *k'rk'mauēt* 'full of saffron', *carauēt* 'full of trees', *calkauēt* 'flowery' *kohakauēt* 'billowy'. The word *vehauēt* is explained as *mišt veh* 'always excellent' through confusion with the -vēt of the Iranian loan-word *yauēt* 'always'. From the -i- stem we have both *aygauēt* and *aygeuēt* 'full of vines'. Derivatives are found in *calkauetout'iun* with short -ē-, and *calkauetanam*. The component or suffix is not treated in Meillet *Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique* (1936), nor in A. Meillet, *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch*.

For this proliferation of a foreign suffix notice also Armen. -akan, -ik and -ean.

Important now is the place name *Artauēt* to aid in localizing the use of -uēt in the west. The name has passed to NPers. *Ardabēl*, -bīl. It was the capital of *Āturpātākān*, but the name

<sup>1</sup> *Jagnobskie teksty*, s. v. (texts collected by M. S. Andreev and E. M. Peščereva).

<sup>2</sup> This is a familiar feature, as in Engl. -hood, -ship, -like, -ly.

is missing from § 56 of the *Šahrīhā ī Ērān*<sup>1</sup>. Here the change from *-t-* to *-l-* is clear. A second place-name with the same change is Armen. *P'aytakaran*, which occurs also with a later form in Armen. *Batakanac'ik'*<sup>2</sup>. The Arabic writers handed the name down as *Al-Baylaqān*. The origin of the name is not settled.

In *Artauēt* we may have a word meaning 'abounding in open fields, plains'. Then Armen. *art* 'field', *arta-* 'out' is an Iranian loan-word formed from the common *ar-* 'out', on which elsewhere.

The change from *-t-* to *-l-* is well known in Pašto, as in *plār* 'father' and many other words. It is not found in Waṇetsī, where *-t-* is replaced by *-y-* as in *piyār* 'father'. Similarly Yidya-Munjānī replaced *-t-* by *-y-* as in *wīya* 'willow', but here initial and medial *-d-* survived as *l*, as in *luyda* 'daughter' and *nāl* 'reed'. Waxī *tal* 'pool' corresponds in meaning to Avest. *čāt*<sup>3</sup>.

### 3. *kalāka-*.

The importance of the western cases of intervocalic *-l-* from older *-t-* lies in the history of the word Zor. Pahl. *kl'k* \**kalāka-*. This word is attested twice in the Bundahišn: *Great Bund.* 81. 1-4, 1. *zarāpat ast kē darāpak bašn ut ast kē kl'g xwānēnd*, 2. *hāt 2 kust <i> kōf rās miyān diz <i> frōt ēt rād diz ku ōd* 3. *kart ēstēt ast <i> kl'g xwānēnd. ēn givāk andar \*sīrāč*<sup>4</sup> 4. *būm*.

The Indian Bundahišn has *kl'k* and Pāzand *kalā*. If now the *-l-* is interpreted from older *-t-*, it belongs with a large group of Iranian words expressing village, fortress, or town as built by 'covering'. The base is *kat-*, beside *čāt-* 'cover'. It is best traced in Waxī *kūt* 'roof, ceiling', *iska-kut* from *uska-*, Khot. *uska-* 'above, upper' with the same meaning. With *uska-* occur Yidya-Munj. *yes-kīg*, *iš-kīg* 'roof' from \**uska-kataka-*, possibly too the *kat* of Šuynī *kat-dūt* 'soot' as 'roof smoke'

<sup>1</sup> Märkwart-Messina, p. 22. The text reads: *šādrastān ī āturpātākān grān-gušasp ī āturpātākān spāhpat <kart>*. For the later history, R. Frye, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., II, p. 625.

<sup>2</sup> Movsēs of Kaṭankaytoug, see C. Dowsett, «BSOAS», 19, pp. 463-5.

<sup>3</sup> On this Waxī word, see G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> J. Märkwart, «Caucasica», 6, p. 63, interpreted of *Sirakene*, rather than E. Herzfeld, «Archäol. Mitteil. aus Iran», 2, p. 69, *Sīrāf*.

which indicates older \**kāta-*. Sogdian has Buddh. *kt'k* \**kataka-* 'room' and *ky'k* \**katyaka-* 'house', *ky'k-δ'r'y* \**katyakadā-raka-* 'householder, gṛhapati-' in *Vim.*, 126. Avest. *kata-* 'room, store-room', Zor. Pahl. *kataka-* 'house', *katīčak* 'small house' (*Zāmāsp-nāmak*, 34), NPers. *kad*, *kadah* (in Syriac script *qdg*, Arab. *qdg*<sup>1</sup>). For *gṛhapati-* 'householder' Khotanese employs *bīsa-dāraa-*. Pašto has *kəlai* 'village' from \**kataka-*, *-jal*, *-jəl* in *bōr-jal* 'house, hearth', *yu-jəl* 'cow-shed'<sup>2</sup>; Yidya *čāro* 'grain store-room', NPers. *čalah* 'grain store-room, vault'<sup>3</sup>.

OInd. *cat-* 'to conceal' offers the palatalized initial; further IE Got. *hēpjō* 'room', Oslav. *kočiči* 'cella'<sup>4</sup>.

In Zor. Pahl. *kalāka-*, Pāzand *kalā* we have the same word as Māzandarānī *kalā*, as in *Kalā-rustāq*, and as second component<sup>5</sup>. The form with suffix *-āka-* resembles that of Oss. Dig. and Iron *fāndāg* 'road', Chorasm. *pindāk*<sup>6</sup>. It occurs also in Khot. *ttāra-pandāka-* 'having a dark path'.

From a *diz* 'fortress', as in *Great Bund.* 81.3, the *kalāka-* was extended to the whole town in the loan-word Armen. *k'alak'a-* 'town', whence Georg. *k'alak'-i*, and Oss. *kalak*.

With the suffix *-āta-* we find NPers. *kalāt*, *kalātah* (with *-t-* kept) 'hill citadel'. This provided the place name *Kalāt* in Balōčistān. The *-āt* of *Harāt* will be different, since the older form is *haraiva-*, Zor. Pahl. *harīv*: it seems likely that we have here \**harēt* written with alif for *-ē*, and hence pronounced with *-ā-*. The suffix *-āta-* is known also in Avest. *kavāta-* and the connected words<sup>7</sup>. It was Indoaryanized in OInd. *-āṭa-*, as in *kilāṭa-*.

<sup>1</sup> J. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *EVP*, with other dialect forms Wazirī *čēla* 'ward' from \**kātyā-*, *kōla* 'family'.

<sup>3</sup> The Oss. Dig. *keyog* 'courtyard', which has been offered a connexion with \**katyā-*, see I. Gershevitch, «Asia Major», n. s. 2, p. 138, is not adduced here, since the different explanation by \**kāg-ya-* yielding *key-* as \**mādyā-* yielding Dig. *medäg*, Iron *midäg* 'middle' seems preferable. It will be treated elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> With other words WP, I, p. 383, but rather 'cover' than 'make hole'.

<sup>5</sup> F. C. Andreas, in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Akola*.

<sup>6</sup> A. Freiman, *Xorézmijskij jazyk*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>7</sup> «TPS» 1954, p. 144.

This interpretation seems preferable to the proposal to see in *kalāka-* a Carian word<sup>1</sup>, the 'improbability' of H. Hübschmann (*Armen. Gramm.* 318, a book wonderful for its period but now in many ways out-of-date), and equally the speculations with Eteo-armenian etymologies<sup>2</sup>.

## II. Iranian *čirāy*.

An analysis of Pers. *čirāy* 'light, lamp', Oss. *cirēn* 'flame', Waxī *carax* 'spark' together with Oss. *āndzārun* 'to kindle', Khot. *hamjsul-* 'to burn' permits a grouping from one base *čā-|či-* 'burn' with various terminations.

1. Khot. *cirau*, *cārau*, *carau*, with *-o* also *ciro*, *cāro*, *caro*, has *č-* before *-i-*; the *-i-* is replaced by *-ā-* (frequently interchanging with *-i-*; deriving from *i-*umlaut of *-a-*), and thence to *-a-*. Plur. *carauva*, gen. plur. *caronū*. Zor. Pahl. *čirāy*, written, *Great Bund.* 220.10, with Avest. *-γ*, not Pahl. *-k*. Turfan Mid. Pers. *čr'h*, plur. *čr'h'n*, \**čirāk*, *čirāhān*. Sogd. Buddh. *čr'γ* \**čirāy*, *P* 6.317 *čr'γ-δ'rwk-* \**čirāy-δārūka-* 'lamp-holder', with *dār-* 'to hold' rather than *dārūk-* 'wood'; Khot. *cārau-dijsāka* (*KT* 1.127,51 v 3) translating Sansk. *pradīpa-*. NPers. *čirāy*, Jud.-Pers. *čr'*. Oss. Dig. *cirāy* 'light, lamp', *Pam.* 2.83.20 *i tār āxsāvi cirāyjuāg kodtoncā* «in the dark night they served as lamps». Oss. Iron *cyrāy*, plur. (*Āfxārdty Xāsānā* 36) *bur nāzy cyrāytā* «yellow pine chips».

This *čirāy* can be analysed as *čir-* with suffix *-āy*. Such an *-āy* suffix occurs also in Oss. Dig. and Iron *āvrāy* 'cloud' from the nominal base \**abra-*, Khot. *ora-*, Oss. *āru* 'sky', Avest. *awra-*, Zor. Pahl. *aβr*, NPers. *abr* 'cloud'.

The analysis of a base *čir-* is twofold, either a nominal base *či-ra-* or a verbal base *čir-* from *či-r-*. For this latter type of

<sup>1</sup> E. Benveniste, «Rev. hitt. et asianique», 1, Noms cariens, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> E. Polomé, *Zur heutigen Stand der Laryngaltheorie*, p. 38, with \**hwl-nā* to Greek αῦλις, and W. Winter, «Language», 31, p. 8 with *k-* from \**pw-*, to Greek πόλις. Further J. Markwart, «Caucasica», 6, p. 63, and E. Herzfeld quot. above.

*r*-enlargement to a diphthongal root note also Oss. Dig. *xirxā*, Iron *xyrx* 'a saw', Dig. *xirxun*, Iron *xyrxyn* 'to saw' (with *xi-* from older *hui-* with *h-* developed before initial *u-*) beside Khot. *bīr-*, Sogd. *wyr-*, Chorasm. *wyr-* 'to saw'<sup>1</sup>. Similarly Oss. Dig. *c'irt* 'cheese'<sup>2</sup>. From a base in *-au-* note Oss. Dig. *turyā* 'court-yard', from a base *tu-r-*, on which later.

2. Oss. Dig. *cirēn*, Iron *cyrēn*, *cren*, *cyrjn* 'flame', *cyrāy* *cren* 'flame of a lamp'. Thence came the Čečen loan-word *c'erin* (not with *Grundr. iran. Philol.*, p. 10, the reverse). Here the analysis by the verbal *či-r-* with *r*-enlargement is justified by the agent suffix *-en*, a bye-form of the older *-ana-*, normally Oss. *-ān*. A similar *-en* is attested in Oss. Dig. *goren*, Iron *gārān* 'fence' from \**varana-*<sup>3</sup>.

3. Ormuḫi has *cirāi* in *bacirāi* 'spark', Wazirī Pašto *bacerrai*<sup>4</sup>. The related words are Waxī *carax*, *cerax*, Išk. *ceraxak*, Sangl. *čerya-zek*, *čirya-zek* (from \**čirax-zek*), Yidya *cerox*, Khowar loan-word *cerax*, *cerox*<sup>5</sup>.

The Oss. *cāxār* 'glow, fire, spark' is better explained as \**ča-xar-a-* or \**ča-xa-ra-* from the by-form *xā-* of *kā-*, reduplicated, under *čā-* below, 6. The reduplicated type may be seen in Median *τέταρος*, Khot. *ttatara-* 'partridge'<sup>6</sup>. The word occurs in K'ostā, *Xetäg*, verse 12 *ārvy cāxārāu* «like fires of the sky».

4. Oss. Dig. *āndzārun*, Iron *āndzāryn*, *āndzārst* 'kindle' contains *-dzār-* which permits a number of analyses. The preverb is older *ham-*. The base can be traced in *-čār-* or *-jār-*, bases

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Henning, *Togan Volume*, p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> Provisionally «TPS», 1955, p. 71, details on *kā-|ki-* elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> «Journ. Roy. As. Soc.», 1954, p. 32 *goren*. For the similar *-eg* beside the normal *-āg* note *ūormeg* 'cloak' («TPS», 1946, p. 206), from which Iranian word possibly Turk. *ormäk* may derive (W. Radloff, *Uigur. Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 47). Also *Pam.* 2.82 *ābāreg* 'robber' stands beside *ābārāg* and Iron *ābyrāg*.

<sup>4</sup> «Norsk Tidsskr. f. Sprog.», 5, p. 11. Similar in form is Orm. *mazīrāi*, Wazirī *mazerrai* 'dwarf palm'. Possibly the *ba-* is from older *upa-* as in Orm. *brušjek* 'to glitter' from \**upa-ruxšya-*.

<sup>5</sup> *IIFL*, II, p. 518, 200,50; «BSOAS», 8, p. 664.

<sup>6</sup> Khot. *ttatara-*, «BSOAS», 8, p. 138; 10.576, and M. J. Dresden, *Jā-takastava*, s. v. *ttara-*.

*kar-* or *gar-*, or to *čā-* and *jā-* with *-r-*. This *čār-* would stand beside the *či-r-* of *čirāy* as we have Avest. *sās-*, *sāh-*/*siš-*, OInd. *sās-*/*siš-*.

5. Armen. *paycaṛ* 'sparkling, bright' with initial *p-* is likely to be some dialectal form of Iranian. It could belong here as *\*pa(t)i-čārana-* or *-čārna-* with the same *čār-* as in Ossetic *āndzār-*<sup>1</sup>.

The Armenian *c*, not *č*, corresponding to Iranian *č* indicates a dialect other than Persian or Parthian, such as Ossetic or Chorasmian. A second case in *cirani* occurs below.

6. From *čā-/či-* (with *-r-*) we reach back to *kā-/k-* (like *dā-/d-* 'give'). This seems to have given Oss. *cāxār* 'spark, fire' cited above under 3. Thence by *-u-* enlargement (as we know IE *\*dō-* and *\*dou-* 'give' or IE *\*bhā-* and *\*bha-* in OInd. *bhāti*, Greek φαῖος) we have *kāu-/kū-*. This is found in Munjānī *guw-/guvd-* 'to burn' from older *\*kau-b-* or *\*kau-p-* with *ham-*. A similar present with *-v-* (but in preterite without this *v*) occurs in Munjānī *zəyiv-/zuyd-* 'to walk about' compared with Oss. *γāu-/yu-* attested in Dig. *jevyāun*, 'to throw past', Dig. *fālyāūn*, Iron *fālyāūn* 'to advance'; Dig. *jevyujun*, Iron *ivjūin* 'to pass, exceed', *jevyud*, Iron *ivjud* 'past; excessively' beside Dig. *ānyud*, Iron *āmyud* 'term, limit'. Chorasmian has *yud* 'time'.

This addition of a labial to a base in *-u-* is frequent, as in IE *\*keu-*, *keu-p-* 'heap'; Iran. *rau-*, *rū-* beside *raup-* 'to pluck'<sup>2</sup>.

7. Khot. *hamjsūl-*, *hamjsul-*, found only in the present base, several times in the *Siddhasāra* (5 r 5 et passim), occurs in the phrase *dai hamjsul-* to mean 'burn, make hot', for Tibetan *drod bskyed*, Sansk. *dīpana-*.

This can be analysed as *ham-* with a base either *čū-* or *jū-* enlarged by *-l-* from *-r-* or older *l*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For *-caṛ*, note also Arm. *vačar*, Sogd. *w'črn* *\*vāčarana-* 'market', and Arm. *bourouat* 'censer', Sogd. *βwδβrn* *\*βōδβarana-*, see E. Benveniste, «TPS», 1945, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> For Munjānī, *IIFL*, II, p. 211; I. Zarubin, «Iran», I, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Had this been Khot. *-r-* it would have been possible to assume an older *-ār-*, as we know *šū'ra-* in the pronoun, older *šāra-*, but with *-l-* this seems doubtful.

Such a base *ču-* may perhaps be contained in the Pahl. Psalter *<č>w'ldy* 'lamp' translating Syriac *šrg-* 'lamp'. This would be *\*čulāy-* to set beside Zor. Pahl. *čirāy* and Khot. *cirau*<sup>1</sup>.

With this Iran. *čū-l-* it is desirable to set Lit. *kūlti* 'to become blasted (of grain)', *kūltas* 'blasted', *kūlē* 'mildew, smut'<sup>2</sup>.

It will now be seen that this *kau-* belongs to Greek *καίω*, *καυ-* 'to burn', Hom. *ἐκαθα*, *ἐκαύθη*, Delph. *κηῖα*.

8. The familiar *dadophorí* of the Mithraic sculptures differ only in respect of their torches: one raises his torch, the other depresses it. It has been held that these torches symbolize the dawn and the setting sun as aspects of the sun-god Mithras<sup>3</sup>. Allusions to the torch in the two evidently connected titles *Caute(s)* and *Cautopatē(s)* may be expected as being the only differential. The meaning 'torch' for *cauto-* has been proposed earlier<sup>4</sup>, but lack at that time of knowledge of the Iranian evidence for *kau-* and *kau-b-* seemed to leave the interpretation unsupported in Iranian. The Greek *καυτόν* 'torch' was cited<sup>5</sup>.

Here a note is needed on the second component *-pate-* of *Cautopatē(s)*. A causative meaning *pāta-* 'make to fall' would be possible. It is however well to recall the familiar Iranian Balōčī *patay* 'to cut off' corresponding to Oss. Dig. *fādun*, Iron *fādyn* 'to cut off', *fāst*, *fāstāg* 'splinter'. The phrase *mā i bāx i don fādgā bācudāj* (Pam. 2. 108.37) means «the horse swam across the river, cutting through», «i kon' pereplyl reku, rassekaja ee».

In an intransitive sense we have Pam. 2.5.32 *ā dedenāg rāfā-didā* «its blossom burst out», «načinala cvesti». Note in passing that Dig. *dedenāg*, Iron *dādināg* 'flower' may be explained as a reduplication of a base Iran. *dai-* connected with the *dā-* of

<sup>1</sup> The *č-* is a conjecture of W. B. Henning.

<sup>2</sup> E. Fraenkel, *Lit. etym. Wörterb.*, p. 306.

<sup>3</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Reallexikon*, s. v. *Mithras*, 2138.

<sup>4</sup> L. H. Gray, «Le Muséon», 1916, pp. 189-192.

<sup>5</sup> Later views were expressed by H. H. Schader, «Zeitschr. deut. morgenl. Gesell.», 82 (1928), p. xcv as *\*kauta-dā-* connected with Avest. *kavi-*; I. Scheftelowitz, «Acta Orientalia», 11, p. 330, n. 1: *kōt-* 'Fülle' as from a 'heap'. W. Brandenstein, *Kretschmer Volume*, Μνήμη χαρίν, I, pp. 59-60, has also reached a connexion with Greek *καίω*, but by way of the conjectured symbolism of the torches, and Dacian *καυτά* 'sun-flower'.

Iran. *dānā*- 'grain', OInd. *dhānās* 'grains', Lit. *dūona* 'bread' <sup>1</sup>. The two bases *dai*- and *dā*- are related as OInd. *dāti* 'to divide' and Greek *δαίεται*.

With this Iranian *pat*- and *pāt*- belongs the *πατα* of the compound cited by Herodotos, 4.110, *οἰόρπατα* which he explained by *ἀνδροκτόνοι* 'slaying men'. Here too 'cutting down' would suit <sup>2</sup>.

9. A word for 'apricot' is widely attested from the Pamirs to the Caucasus. Thus in the Caucasus and Armenian we find the name Georg. *č'eram-i*, Tuš *č'eram*, Apxaz *a-č'aram*, Armen. *ciran* <sup>3</sup>. In the Pamirs occur Munjānī *čērī*, Yidya *čirē*, Yazg. *čirai*; Kāfirī Aškun *cirā*, Kati *cirā*, Prasun *čirē*; Indo-Aryan Kāśm. *cer*, Bhradrawāhī *čirō*. In all these forms the base is *či-r*- with added suffixes.

A base *či-y*- is attested in Waxī *čuwān*, Išk. *čuwīn*, Šuynī *čiwān*, Sangl. *čuwēn*. These forms are valuable in separating out the *či*- <sup>4</sup>.

10. In Armenian the derived adjective of colour *cirani* 'purple, red, violet, golden' is attested from the early literature, the name *ciran* 'apricot' only in more recent texts. In compounds *cirana*- is used for the colour name. From Armenian the word through Georgian (although not found in Old Georgian texts) came to Swanetian *c'ərni* 'red' <sup>5</sup>.

A colour name derived from the verb 'to burn' is familiar in OInd. *śuklā*-, *śukrā*- 'white, bright', Iran. Avest. *suxra*-, Zor. Pahl. *suxr*, NPers. *surx*, Oss. Dig. *surx*, Iron *syrx* 'red' (Khot. *suraa*- 'clean'). Sogdian uses *krm'yr*. In Khotanese Staël-Holstein text 67 *dajägūna*- 'flamecoloured', later *dajūna*-, means

<sup>1</sup> «BSOAS», 21, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Iran*, II, p. 79; A. W. Lawrence, *Herodotus*, Nonesuch Press, p. 388 (preferring *pati*- 'lords'); W. Brandenstein, loc. cit. indecisive. The relationship of Armen. *hatanem* is still not clear. [About *πατα* see the similar interpretation by L. Zgusta further p. 151. (W. B.)]

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Adjarian, *Hayerēn armatakan bataran*, s. v. *ciran*.

<sup>4</sup> *IIFL*, II, 202; 388.

<sup>5</sup> G. Deeters, *Bemerkungen zu K. Bouda's Südkaukasisch-nordkaukasischen Etymologien*, in «Die Welt des Orients», 2 (1957), pp. 200-5.

'white'. The Zor. Pahl. *alālaka*- 'anemone', otherwise called *āturgōnak* 'fire-coloured', is likely to belong to *al*- 'to burn' <sup>1</sup>.

Hence Armen. *ciran* 'apricot', and *cirani* 'purple, red', the Iran. *čirai*, *čiwān* 'apricot' will contain a colour name from *či*- 'to burn' attested in *čirāy* 'lamp' and *cerax* 'spark'.

The *-i*- of Armen. *ciran* requires noting. In the loanword *hamširak* we have *-i*- for the *-ī*- of *xšīra*- 'milk'. Possibly this explains also Armen. *višap* beside Avest. *vīšāpa*- <sup>2</sup>. In Georgian we find at times that it has *-e*- in Iranian loan-words where Armenian has unaccented *-i*-, thus in *sp'et'ak*-*i*, Armen. *spitak* 'white'. Georgian *ešmak*-*i* 'demon' is not in Armenian. The relationship of the seal legend *βιζανο*, beside Georg. *vežan-i* 'grey, brown', *vežana* 'colour of dove', Swanet. *wežan* 'dark grey colour' and 'tiger' to the Iranian name *Vēžan* and *Bēžan* is still uncertain <sup>3</sup>.

### III. Iranian *karasta*-

In one Khotanese text containing a list of gifts accepted by Ratanaraiḱṣā *āšī*' (Ratnarakṣa ārya) and Prrakaitu (Praketu) we have the passage <sup>4</sup>:

*u kabaljā bīrga kagyā karastā še u kabalija rūškagū thūḍa-pa šau* «and one karasta of wolf skin as a *kambala*, and one *thul-pa* of *rūs*- skin as a *kambala*».

The *kambala*- is the OInd. 'blanket'. In *thūḍa-pa* we have Tib. *thul-pa* 'fur coat'. The *rūs*- is likely to be the pine-marten (mustela martes) which is called *rušk* in Khowar and *luū* in Yidya <sup>5</sup> rather than the Ovis Poli called in Waxī *rūš*, Sar. *raos*, Ormuḡi *rōs* <sup>6</sup>.

The *karasta*- of wolf skin for a *kambala* is either a pelt or a cloak made of a pelt. This word is preserved unchanged in

<sup>1</sup> Further details in «TPS», 1955, pp. 80-2.

<sup>2</sup> E. Benveniste, «Rev. études armén.», 7, pp. 7-9, assumed *-ai*-.

<sup>3</sup> R. B. Whitehead, «Numismatic Chronicle», s. 6, 10 (1950), p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> Ch cvi 001, 19 in *KT*, II, 60.

<sup>5</sup> *IIFL*, II, p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> *IIFL*, II, p. 538.



Pamir dialects. Thus Yidya has *karast* 'hide, skin', Sangl. *korost* 'skin', Waxī *kurust* 'bark of tree', *karast* 'fur cloak'<sup>1</sup>. From this Pašto *krāsta* 'felt, woollen cloth' diverges in meaning.

Knowledge of Khotanese has carried back the history of *karast* for a thousand years. It is striking testimony to the value of this new evidence.

Etymological connexions also seem clear. In the *kar-* it is easy to see the equivalent of Latin *corium* 'leather', *cortex* 'bark', Lit. *karnà* 'bast' and many related words. Khot. *karasta-* can be analysed as IE \*(s)koret-to-.

Two other Khotanese words *kangā-* and *häysa-* mean 'skin, hide'. In *häysa-* (E 21.35) occurs the cognate of the *iza-* of Avest. *īsaēna-* 'of skin'. The Khotanese adjective is *ījī-naa-*<sup>2</sup>.

Among the many problems of the history of Khotan there is one in the *Gośynga-vyākaraṇa-* where the Tibetan offers, Narthang (346 b) *ka-'a-sta ḥdi-ze* as the name of a bazaar, *choñ-ḥdus*, in ancient Khotan<sup>3</sup>. Variants are Derge (76,227 a 3) *kas-di-ze*, Lhasa (A, 359 b 7) *ka-sa-di-ze*, Peking (40,350,4.4) *kas-di-ze*, Xylograph miscellany *ke-* for *kas-*.

In *ka-'a-sta*, with *kas-*, *kasa-*, *ke-*, we have an alteration of Khot. *karasta-* 'hides' (whether only scribal or otherwise). In the *-ize* we may have the second Khotanese word *häysa-*. But the *ḥd-* and *d-* require an explanation which has not yet been settled. It might conceal the older Khotanese form of older *uta* 'and', or possibly stand for the simple *h-*.

A new study of the text with full knowledge of the Khotanese side of this document is a desideratum.

#### IV. Khotanese *haura-*

In Khotanese there are five distinct words of the form *haura-*. Two of these are here especially considered.

<sup>1</sup> *IIFL*, II, pp. 219, 399, 527.

<sup>2</sup> Details in «BSOAS», 21, 539-10. Add Oss. Dig. *xizā*.

<sup>3</sup> F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, I, p. 25.

1. *haura-* 'commander, leader'.

In the official document *P* 2741 addressed to the Royal Court<sup>1</sup> (*rrvī vī*) occurs the phrase, line 27: *ysarrnai mistye haurū pyam-tsāštā hā aurāsā haṣḍi* «report to the presence of the great golden ruler»<sup>2</sup>.

In the Khotanese poem of *P* 2022 (*KT*, III. 42) there is reference, line 2, to the *haura* of a troop, a musician

*sa khu jā hīsīdā vīrā vāra pajsadā*  
*dīstā gqtcqstā ṣākāle tcāramphā gubā*  
*tha-kṣaisttai tcamjsā gaudā naumā haurā*  
*vā-ttaryarā ṣaiśākau ṣattau pācaryā dī ttraumq:*

In these verses I note *vīra vara* 'in the enclosed court' discussed earlier, not yet definitively explained in form<sup>3</sup>. The word *pajśadaa-* 'doing homage' is *pajśandaa-* from *pajśam-* 'to honour'. The phrase *tha-kṣaisttai* contains (not *tha* 'thou' as I had once thought) the *\*thata-* attested in *thatau* 'quickly' from *tak-*. The verb *kṣiy-*/*kṣista-* 'throw, toss' is known also with *bi-* and *va-*. The compound may mean 'wildly-tossed'. The *Gaudā* could represent Buddh. Sansk. *Godha*, or could be a shortened form of Sansk. *gāndharva-* 'musician'. In *vā-ttaryara-* we have a developed Khotanese form of a Sansk. *vādyā-tūrya-kara-* 'maker of the four sounds of music'. The word *ṣaiśāka-* 'lover' occurs in several spellings *seśāka-*, *se'sāka-*, beside the verbal base *ṣaiś-* and *sa's-*<sup>4</sup>. In *pācarya* we may see the Prakrit equivalent to Pali *pāricarikā* 'service'. The whole can be rendered: 'as the members of the troop (*gubaa-*, Sansk. *gulmaka-*) come into the court (line 60, of *Kinnara-dvīpa*, hence here we have the *yakṣas*) doing homage, having in their hands dry broken staffs, the leader called Gauda, his hair wildly tossed, the musician, enters to do service to the amorous folk'.

<sup>1</sup> Edited in «Asia Major», n. s., I, p. 40, with commentary.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase may be reflected in the Turkish *Alattuna hana* 'Golden Khan' of the document *P* 2958 in *KT*, II, 117.

<sup>3</sup> «Journ. Roy. As. Soc.», 1954, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> References are *P* 2925.44; *P* 2025.13; *Ch* 00266.5; Paris *Y* 7; *P* 2026.61; Staël-Holstein text 63; *P* 2022.3 and 44. The verb occurs in *P* 2925.26; *P* 2025.9; *Ch* 00266.2; Paris *Y* 3. The form *sa'se* is in *Ch* 00269.66, translated in «BSOAS», 12, p. 621 ff.

In this *haura-* I propose to see older *\*fra-var-* 'to command'. That is the base *var-/ur-* 'to command, convince'. It is now known in Hittite *weriya*, Iterative *werisk-* 'call, name, mention, charge' together with the many other IE words, Greek ἐπέω and the rest. The sense 'convince' is familiar in OPersian and Ossetic. Thus Darius, Behistun 4.49, *nai-šim ima vrnāvātāiy* «this does not convince him» and 4.42 *tya mana krtam vrnāvātām* «let my work convince». In Ossetic Iron *urnyn*, pret., *urnydtā* is with the object pronoun as in *uād sā jā nyxās bāurnydtā* «then his word convinced them» and *urný nā, xorz āydaūl xāst kāj festām* «it convinces us that we were educated on good customs». In Digoron the enlarged base *ārūāg-* is used in place of *urnun* (cited in Miller's Dictionary). The base is older *ur-ā-k-* (formed like Avest. *urvāxš-* < *\*ur-ā-k-s-* 'rejoice'). The Digoron phrase is *ārūāgās, irūāgās* formed by *-āsa-* suffix, known in *dārās* 'clothes'; the *-ū-* may be absent. It is construed with the locative. Thus we have *Pam.* 2.46.27, *kād di ne'rūāgās kānuj* «if it does not convince you», and *Pam.* 2.42.6, *kāmi mi bārūāgās ādtājdā* «how it might convince me», «kak ja mog poverit». The word Dig. *ārūād*, Iron *irād* has been compared with OInd. *vrātā-* and Avest. *urvata-* under a meaning 'engagement' <sup>1</sup>.

2. *haura-* 'desideratum', *āhaurrda-* «*prīti-manas-*», 'delighted'. This second *haura-* occurs in introductory courtesy phrases in epistles. Thus we have the following: *P* 4068.4 (*KT*, II. 122), *jastām jsa haurā šarā byauda-līkā*; *P* 2958.121 (*KT*, II. 117), *gyastām jsa haurā širā byaudi-līkā*; *P* 2896.41 (*KT*, III. 95), *pājsyau jastā beysau jsa āhaurrda, jastyā jsa haura šarā byauda-līka sarasve gyāšta hīye ttīša' jsa vīvace... drūnā*.

The clue to the meaning of *haurā šarā* is given in the following phrases (the word *šarā* corresponds to Sansk. *śrī-* 'fortune'): *P* 4089 b 6 (*KT*, III. 116), *maistye buqme haura varāšau'ma saida šerā byūda-līkā*; *P* 2958.120 (*KT*, II. 117), *mistye hauri virāšā'me jsa hamphve*; *P* 2030.2 (*KT*, II. 83), *mistye haurā virāšā'me jsa hamphve*; *P* 4068.3-4 (*KT*, II. 122), *garkhye haurā varāšā'me u*

<sup>1</sup> E. Benveniste, «Bull. Soc. ling.», 52, p. 34 (this is superior to the proposal *ār-* with *uād* in «TPS», 1946, p. 203).

*vāstārye buqme jsa hamphve puñ<au>dā buqmaya šura jastām jsa haurā šarā byauda-līkā*.

This gives *saida šerā* from Sansk. *siddhi-śrī* as a parallel to *haurā šarā*, hence the *siddhi-* 'thing aimed at, desideratum'. The verb *varāš-* 'experience, possess' elsewhere renders Sansk. *anubhav-* (thus *Suv. bh.* 56 v 4 in *KT*, I. 240). A similar use can be seen in *P* 2787.94 (*KT*, II. 104), *sauhi-sapatta šarā parī varašte* «he graciously possesses the *sukha-sampatti-śrī-*».

In this *haura-* we have older *\*fra-var-* 'to desire' familiar in Avest. *fraorēt* 'gladly'. In *āhaurrda-* we have the participle to a present *\*ā-fra-urn-* 'to please'. The phrase *P* 2798.138, *re-v-ī erkā nāve riña āhauja hve*, *P* 2958.20, *rre-v-ī erkāna nāve rrīña āhurrji hve* «the king took the child in his arms and in delight said to the queen» contains an instrumental form from *āhaurrja*. The cliché is Sansk. *Divyāvadāna* 405, *atha rājā kumāram nirīkṣya prītimanāḥ kathayati* <sup>2</sup>. The phrase *P* 2801.44, *āhaurrji sidhā šarā* means «the desired *siddhi-śrī-*». This is then IE *\*uel-*.

3. *hora-*, *haura-* 'gift', *hor-* 'to give', with participle *hūda-*, and 3rd sing. pres. *heḍā*, frequent, and familiar. This is from older *fra-bar-* 'give', as in OPers. *frabar-*.

4. *haura-* 'talk', especially in the double phrase *haurā murā*. Alone we have *P* 2790.94 (*KT*, II. 113), *hauri ā salā ni biješe* «speaks neither a *haura-* nor a *samlāpa-*», where the two words are synonyms. The connexion may lie with Khot. *pharā-* 'speech', *pher-* 'to speak'. -Thus *haur-* from *\*fra-far-*.

5. *haura*, *hūra* for older Khot. *hurā-* in *E* 2.50, corresponding to Avestan *hurā-* 'intoxicant made from mare's milk', OInd. *sūrā-* 'beer'. On this see the discussion below.

This Khotanese evidence can now be employed to elucidate problems of certain related dialect words occurring on inscriptions and coins in North-west India.

<sup>2</sup> This identification of *āhaurrda-* with *prītimanas-* supersedes the conjecture 'unfailing' for *P* 2801.44, «BSOAS», 10, p. 577.

The Saka dialect of these inscriptions and coins is close to Khotanese Saka. Thus inscriptional *horaka-* in the compound *horaka-parivarena* 'with the retinue of donators', and *hora* in the compound *hora-murṇāgena* « *dānapati-* » contains the word *hor-* 'to give' familiar in Khot. *hor-*, *haur-* with *ha-* from older *fra-*, in contrast to Tumshuq Saka *ror-*, participle *rorda-*, with *ra-* from *fra-*, as we find later in Ossetic *rā-*, Waxī *ra-*, and Parāčī *rha-*<sup>1</sup>.

The Khotanese *haura* 'commander' now serves to interpret the royal name of the coins from Seistan in the Parthian period *Špalahora-*. In Kharoṣṭhī script the legend is *maharaja-bhrata dhramikasa špalahorasa*, Greek offers gen. sing. ΠΑΛΑΙΟΕ<sup>2</sup>.

If *hora-* is taken as 'commander' it is at once possible to accept *špala-*, Greek ΠΑΛΑ-, as an *l*-dialect form of the Iran. *spāda-* 'troop' attested in OPers. *Taxma-spāda-* (beside *kāra-*, and *hainā-*), Avest. *spāda-*, Oss. Dig. and Iron *āfsād*, NPers. *sipāh*, Zor. Pahl. *spāh*, Sogd. Man. *sp'd* Turfan Parth. '*sp'd*. The official title with *pati-* occurs in Sasanian inscription Šāpuhr I Parth. 24, *sp'dpty*, Pers. 29, *sp'hpt*, Greek 57 (gen. sing.), *spapitou*, Zor. Pahl. *spāhpat*, NPers. *sipāhbaḍ*, Armen. *sparapet*, *spayapet*, Georg. *sp'asp'et'-i*. The corresponding *spāta* in Khotanese by normal change from \**spādapatā-* (*-i-* to *-ā-* inflexion) is the only evidence for the OIran. *sp-*, excluding OIran. *šy-*. The same *l*-dialect is known in the Šāhiya coins of Ōhind *Šrī Spalapati deva*<sup>3</sup>. On these coins it has been proposed to read Greek <CP>I ΠΑΛΑΒΑΑ. This would show the normal shift from the *-i-* to the *-ā-* inflexion as in Khotanese and on Kušān coins.

On a seal with Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī script occurs Khar. *Spadamitra* and Brāhmī *Spasda>matra* (with forgotten *-i-*)<sup>4</sup>.

The form of the word *spāda-* suggests an analysis by *spā-d-* as we know Avest. *snād-*, Khot. *ysānāh-*, and \**srāda-* in Zor.

<sup>1</sup> H. Lüders. *Die Šakas und die 'nordarische' Sprache*, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> R. B. Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 141; here earlier bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, plate 5,6; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, p. 246; R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, p. 40, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Seal in private possession of A. D. Bivar.

Pahl. *sr'd*, NPers. *sarāy*, Arm. *srah* 'hall', *srah*, *srahak* 'veil, curtain', Mand. *sr'dq-* 'tent cover'<sup>1</sup>. This base *sar-* is in OInd. *śārman-*, *śaraṇā-* 'protection', *śālā-* 'hall', Lat. *cella*. Iran. \**zrāda-* 'mail' is from *zar-* 'to cover the body', OInd. *har-*<sup>2</sup>.

Possibly the base is *spā-* 'to throw, send', as we know similar derivative in OInd. *sénā-* 'missile; army', OPers. *hainā-*. Latin has such derivatives of *mitto* 'send'.

The change of *d* to *l* is frequent in Iranian. It is absent from Khotanese, but Pašto and Yidya treat both initial and medial *d* as *l*. Sogdian has *l*, but not Yāznābī. In Ossetic there may be a few traces. Kuci has *māla-* in the phrase *mot māla trikelyesa šakse yokam* which renders Sansk. *surā-maireya-madya-pānāt*<sup>3</sup>. Khotanese has *māya-*, obl. *māye* and *meva jsa*, in the phrase *māye jsa māstā* for Sansk. *mada-matta-*, and Kuci *māla* could belong here from an Iranian dialect<sup>4</sup>.

From Surx Kotal, Baylān, an inscription has БАГОЛАТТО from \**baga-dānaka-* 'shrine' corresponding to Sogd. Man. *βγ-δ'nyy*, Buddh. *βγδ'n'k*<sup>5</sup>.

Outside Iranian Kāfirī Prasun has the *l* from *d*. In Indo-Aryan *l* from *d* is rare<sup>6</sup>.

Thus *Špalahora-* could mean 'commander of a troop' used as a proper name. Yet an uncertainty remains since the second Khot. *haura-* 'desired', the equivalent of *siddhi-*, would also give a good meaning to fit with what follows.

Two other names in this series of coins contain the word *špala-*, *Špalariša-* and *Špalagadama-*.

The name in Kharoṣṭhī script *Špalariša-* corresponds to Greek ΠΑΛΑΙΡΙΟY, ΠΑΛΑΙΡΙΟY. The full legend reads *maharaja-bhrata dhramiasa špalarišasa*. The first component is the same *spāda-*. The second is less clear. It is possible to point first to Iran. *raiz-* 'to please'. From this the derivative *raiz-y-* is

<sup>1</sup> H. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.*, with other forms; Zor. *Problems*, 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Donum Nyberg*, p. 12 ff.

<sup>3</sup> W. Couvreur, *Asiatica*, *Weller Festschrift*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Pašto and Yidya in G. Morgenstierne, *EVP* and *IIFL*, II, 46; Ossetic; «TPS», 1946, p. 202 ff.; Khot. *māya-* in *Suv. bh.* 36 r 1 (KT, I. 236).

<sup>5</sup> W. B. Henning, «BSOAS», 18, pp. 366-7.

<sup>6</sup> H. Lüders, *Wackernagel 'Avrīdowov*, pp. 294 ff.

known in Khot. *rīśā*, *rrīśī* 'appetite', *arīśai* 'unpleasant'. The -ś- indicates -ž-. In Sogdian we find Christ. *ryž* 'will', which gives the reading of the ambiguous Buddh. -z in *ryz* 'will', and verbal base *ryz-*<sup>2</sup>. To compare the Khotanese and Sogdian the base would be older *raiz-* not *raiž-*<sup>3</sup>.

To adduce here the -*riśa-* with Khot. *rīśa'*-, Sogd. *rēž*, requires that Kharoṣṭhī -ś- stands for the voiced -ž-. This is possible, since Kharoṣṭhī had no symbol for ž. In Greek script a voiced z could be expressed as in the Kuṣān coin BAZOΔEO. But no sign for ž existed.

The second possibility is to point to Khot. *rrās-*, *rris-*, *rrus-* in a compound with *pura-* 'son', and *rrāys-*, *rris-* in a compound with *dutar-* 'daughter'. This is for older \**razi-*, from *raz-* 'to direct'. This would give firstly either *śpala-riśa-* 'acceptable to the troop' or 'taking pleasure in the troop', or secondly 'directing the troop'.

The third name is in the Kharoṣṭhī legend *śpalahora-putrasa dhramiasa śpalagadamasa*<sup>4</sup>.

Here too *śpala-* will be 'troop'. In -*gadama-* we may see the archaic type with superlative -*tama-* added to the long -ā- base. Thus there occurs in the Avesta *zraz-dātama-* 'most faithful', *ayaptō.dātama-* 'giving most boons', *asparəzō.dātama-* 'giving most care', *haiṭya.dātama-*, Pahlavī gloss *āškār-dātār-tom*. In the *Rgveda* there are 1.86.1, *sugo-pātama-*; 1.9.8, *sahasra-sātama-*; 1.1.1, *ratna-dhātama-*; 9.99.3, *indra-pātama-*. The meaning may be either active as in *ratna-dhātama-* or passive *indra-pātama-*. The word -*gadama-* would thus be -*kātama-*, from *kā-* 'desire'.

A proper name Δαρδάνης was the name of a satrap of Cappadocia in the service of Artaxerxes Memnon, 404-358, in the early fourth century B. C., who died about 362. The interpretation

<sup>1</sup> *Siddhasāra* 14 r 1; 5 v 2; 140 v 2.

<sup>2</sup> The forms are frequent in *Vessantaraj.*, Paris texts, see also I. Gershevitch, *Grammar*, § 1051.

<sup>3</sup> Comparison with the NIndo-Aryan Hindī *riṣhnā* 'to please' and the rest is thus doubtful. R. L. Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*, p. 537, leaves the connexion uncertain, as from *ṛdhya-* or \**raigh-*, \**raiḥ-* according to P. Tedesco, «Bull. Soc. ling.», 23 (1922), pp. 114-5.

<sup>4</sup> R. B. Whitehead, loc. cit., p. 143.

by \**dātama-*, Avestan *dātama-*, 'most liberal in giving' would suit. It could be either a separate adjective from the *dā-*, or a second component detached from the compound<sup>1</sup>.

#### V. Khotanese *bvīysna*.

In a list of presents (termed 'favours', *mvaiśdā'*) of an official document *P* 2786 (*KT*, II. 99), of which an incomplete duplicate is found in *Or* 8212.186 (*KT*, II. 11), occurs a word written *bvīysna* and *bvīysana*. The text reads as follows.

*P* 2786

*Or* 8212.186 a

174 *khu pada sūrā śtāvai ḍaikau*  
*habā* 175 *bvāvai: ira u haurā*  
*bvīysna ha'mi'tē nauhyā hī-*  
*sīyai* 176 *tta pārysā ca tta*  
*rrvī vī hāṣḍā yūdāmā sṣ*  
*pārśām' u kṣṣ* 177 *ma yūdā*

9 *khū pa|||* 10 *ḍaikau habā*  
*bvāvai: ira u hūra u bvīy-*  
*sana |||* 11 *nauhya hīsīye:*  
*ttaka pārysā ca tta rrv<ī> v<ī>*  
*|||* 12 *ḍauda sa pārśau' au*  
*kṣama yūdai*

187 *hvai sṣ khu vā rrvī jsā*  
*caiga kṣīrāštā ira hīyā u*  
*hauri u bvīysna u hamatē*  
*hīyā: mvaiśdā'na haraṣṭā yṣ:*  
*ama pā hāysq tsāve*

22 *hve sa khu |||*  
23 *rāṣṭa ira hīya u haura u*  
*bvīysana u -ai |||*  
24 *na haraṣṭa ya ama pā hāysa*  
*tsāva*

«If the road is clear. The ḍaikau's share is to be recognised: jade and *hurā*-beverage, *bvīysna*-beverage, barley-yeast should come as principal. Thus for the servants who reported to the Court saying that he acted wisely and acceptably» (174-177). «He said that when the Court has presented to the Chinese land the present of jade, and of *hurā*-beverage and *bvīysna*-beverage and barley-yeast, you then will depart» (187).

The meaning of *ira-* is known from a bilingual: it translates Sansk. *śilā* 'stone', probably therefore the stone par excellence of Khotan, the jade<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 81, thought of a shortened name beginning with *dāta-*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sw. bh.* 53 r 4 (*KT*, I. 237).

In the *Jñānolkā dhāraṇī*<sup>1</sup> there is a phrase fol. 2.9: *śo hālo cakravāla gari u śśo hālo īrīnā gari ttiṇa haṃdrā vya vara mista dumā sarbi* «on the one side is the Cakravāla mountain and on the other side the stone mountain (? Vajraka). Between them there a great smoke rises». The word *īrīnaa-* is formed from *īra-* by the identifying suffix in *-īnaa-*<sup>2</sup>. The Tibetan and Chinese texts of this *dhāraṇī* omit this passage. A Khotanese proper name *īra-saṃga-* occurs in several places (*Or* 11252, 2.15; 16 b 7; *MT a.* 1.0033.1) which contains *saṃga-* 'stone'. Here the *īra-* may indicate a particular stone. In Chinese sources a Khotanese name 乙僧 *i-saṃg* from *K* 176,1047 *īet-saṃg* corresponds. The River of Khotan was called in Sanskrit *Śailodā*, and this is represented also by the Khotanese phrase *raṇijai ttāja* 'the river of precious stones'<sup>3</sup>.

In official letters the *īra-* may be 'jade' as the primary product of Khotan rivers (Yürüng Qaš and Qara Qaš, the rivers of white and black jade), and has thus been so translated above. Here in 187 = 23 the repeated *hīya* after *īra-* and after the group of three beverages (*hauri u bviysna u ha'matci*) divides the gifts into two groups.

The clue to the second group is given by *haurā*, variant *hūra*. This occurs once in older Khotanese as *hurā-* in *E* 2.50, the story of the magician Bhadra:

*parysa nirmāndā ce pīpāre hurau bātā phāṣṣe*

*svī haṃtsa biṣṭyau balysu vā nimandraimā ttattika*

«he creates magically servants who prepare the pleasant *hurā-* and *bātaa-* beverages; to-morrow I will invite here the Buddha with his followers».

To these verses note the following. The verb *pīp-* is from a Prakrit *\*payapp-* corresponding to Buddh. Sansk. *prakalp-* used of preparing food, as Khot. *avīpa* 'certainly' is from Prak. *aviyappa-*, Buddh. Sansk. *avikalpam*<sup>4</sup>. The *hurā-* (*hurau* = *hurā-* with *u*) is the Avest. *hurā-* occurring in the list 'milk, *hurā-*, and *maḍu-*'. In the *Nīrangastān* 30 it is made of mare's milk

<sup>1</sup> *N* 157-8.

<sup>2</sup> «*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*», 1954, 31.

<sup>3</sup> «*BSOAS*», 10, p. 920.

<sup>4</sup> «*TPS*», 1954, p. 131 no. 2.

(*aspya.payanhō*). OInd. *surā-* is 'beer'. In Zor. Pahlavī we have *hur*; *bātaa-* is Zor. Pahl. *bātak*, *vātak* 'new wine'<sup>1</sup>; related to the Greek βατιάχη 'wine-cup' made of gold or copper. OPers. *bātu-gara-* 'wine-cup-' would belong here (with *gar-* perhaps 'to take up'). The adjective *phāṣṣa-* is from a North-west Prakrit *\*phāṣu-* from older *sparś-* known in NW Prak. *phaṣa-* 'touch' for *\*phāṣa-*<sup>2</sup>. The corresponding *phāsu-* is found in Aśoka's Bhabra inscription, Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit. AMg *phāsuya-* was replaced in Jaina Sanskrit by *prāsuka-*.

The term *bviysna*, *bviysana*, known only in this passage, in such a context with *hurā-* will be similarly a beverage and hence can be traced by normal changes to *\*bajanya-* 'intoxicant'. Thus we have *vī*, *uī* by *i*-umlaut from *ū*, as in *murā-* 'coin, seal', gen. *mvīre*; *Suv. bh.* 34 b 4, *rrāys-dutar-*, gen. pl. *rrāys-duīrānu*<sup>3</sup>. In secondary contact *-dz-* (from older *-dž-*) before *-a-* became *-z-*, as in *dyysde* 'he holds' from *\*dṛjatai*; *E* 17.33, *hatīysde* 'shines' from *\*fra-taijatai*<sup>4</sup>. In *ysīrra-* 'gold' (connected with *ysara-gūna-* 'yellow-coloured') we have *\*zaranya-* from older *zaranya-* (Avest. *zaranya-*, OPers. *daranya-*, Zor. Pahl., NPers. *zarr*). The umlaut affects the first syllable. In *hīšana-* 'iron' from *\*aśvanya-* the second *-a-* has survived. This would suggest that both *bviysna* and *bviysana* were correct forms.

The syllable *bū-* for older *ba-* is known also in *būṣ-*/*būta-* 'give' from *baxš-*/*baxta-*, and *būnaa-* 'naked' from *\*bagnaka-*, *būñe* 'intestines, Tib. *loñ-ga*', beside Waxī *wānj* 'belly', OInd. *vaniṣṭhū-*. But in *banhya-* 'tree' there has been no change.

The meaning 'intoxicant' separates this *bviysna* from *būjsana* 'feasting'<sup>5</sup> from older *\*baujana-*, OInd. *bhojana-*.

The form so recovered *\*bajanya-* can be compared with Ossetic Dig. *bāgāni*, Iron *bāgāny* 'beer', whose history it helps to clarify. This *bāgāni* contains the non-palatalized *-g-* against

<sup>1</sup> Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, p. 113 (*hur*); 32, 57, 58, quoted «*TPS*», 1954, p. 154, no. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions*, ed. Konow, no. 80, 2, p. 155. Khot. *phāṣṣa-* was explained in «*TPS*» 1954, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> S. Konow, *Primer of Khotanese Saka*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> S. Konow, *Primer* quot., p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *P* 2957.70, *KBT*, 34, and Hedin 17.24

the Khot. -j-. The reverse case is familiar in Khot. *bagala-* 'vessel' and Arm. loan-word *bažak*<sup>1</sup>, and in Khot. *bajsu* (E 23.149) if this is compared with OInd. *bhagá-*<sup>2</sup>.

This word is widely attested. In Turkish Uigur medical texts occur *bkeny*, *b'kyny* \**bäkni*, *bägni*, *bäkini*, *bägini*. It is used beside *bor* 'wine'<sup>3</sup>. In Kök Turkish we have *bgni* in the phrase *iki küp bgni*. The Chinese wrote 葡萄 K 52.14 *b'uak-ni p'o-ni* for \**bägni*<sup>4</sup>. Among European travellers Oderico da Pordenone gave *bigni*. Al-Kāšyārī, *Luyāt al-turk*, has *bäkni* 'beer from wheat, millet or barley'. Chorasmanian has *bkenyn*, acc. sing. *baka-nina* (*k* or *g*)<sup>5</sup>.

Ossetic *bägäni*, and *bägäny* 'beer' (dat. sing. *bägänyjän* in Sek'ā, p. 154) occurs frequently. Two poems of the 'invention of *bägäni*' have been printed. It is ascribed to *Sātānā*, the presiding lady among the Nārts<sup>6</sup>.

The grouping of the words is made somewhat difficult by the Ossetic -*g*- where one would expect in an indigenous word -*γ*- from intervocalic -*g*- or in the group -*gn*-. It would seem necessary to assume that this word has come into Ossetic from an older Alanic dialect or possibly from Turkish<sup>7</sup>. The Chorasmanian *bkeny*- also needs explanation.

The Khotanese *būyysna* shows this word in Central Asia, and Ossetic *bägäni* has preserved it in the Caucasus. Sogdian has the form with fricative -*γ*-, which the variants pointed to. The Sog-

<sup>1</sup> «TPS», 1954, p. 133. H. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.*, 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Donum Nyberg*, p. 4, and later «TPS», 1956, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> «TPS», 1954, p. 134. Kök Turkish in «Journ. Roy. As. Soc.», 1912 219.10.

<sup>4</sup> P. Pelliot, «T'oung Pao», 1914, p. 450 \**b'ak-ni*.

<sup>5</sup> A. Freiman, *Xorezmijskij jazyk*, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> The two poems are Digoron in *Iron Ādāmon Sfāldystād*, 5, p. 182, and *Iron Nārti Kāddžytā*, ed. 1946, pp. 59-60 and ed. 1949, pp. 110-1. The name *Sātānā* with its variants, and connected with the name in Armenian *Sat'inik*, the Alan princess, may be the feminine form corresponding to Avestan *sātar-* 'ruler', whereon elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup> Note incidentally here that Ossetic Dig. *māxsumā*, Iron *māxsymā* 'thin beer without hops', Čerkes *maxsəme*, *baxsəme*, Kazan Turk *maksim*, *maksima*, al-Kāšyārī *buxsum* 'beer from barley' could derive from a Scythian \**baxšma-* or \**maxšma-* from the base *bag-* discussed below.

dian Man. *βγ'ny-*, *βγ'n'y-* and Christ. *βγ'n(y)-* are attested in four compounds as follows<sup>1</sup>.

Man. <i>βγ'n'y-šp'-krty</i>	Chr. <i>βγ'n-pš-qty</i>
Man. <i>βγ'ny-pš-kt'kw</i>	Chr. <i>βγ'ny-pš qt</i>

The meaning of this compound is given in Lk 12.36 in the Syriac *bēθ mešvūā* 'house of drinking', as a paraphrase of Greek ἐξ τῶν γάμων<sup>2</sup> recalling rather the δειπνον μέγα of Lk 14.16. The compound has been treated several times already<sup>3</sup>.

In -*šp'*-<sup>4</sup> and metathetic -*pš-* we have now to see the cognate of Avest. -*spaθ-* in *hama-spaθ-mādaya-* and OPers. *spāθ-* in *spāθmaida-*. This *spa-* belongs with a widely attested group of words concerned with 'sating oneself with food', that is, 'feasting'.

The oldest trace of this word is Hitt. *ispāi-/ispiya-* 'to eat to satiety'<sup>5</sup>. Khotanese has *spai-/spata-* 'to sate oneself'. The compound *spa-masu* (P 3513.71 v 4, *spa-masu jsārū raṇina KT* I.247; and 73 r I, *KT*, I. 248, *spa-masve*) renders Sansk. *prabhūta-* 'abundant'. OInd. *sphā-*, *sphāy-*, *sphāv-/sphā-* means 'to increase'.

The 'feasting' is familiar in Zor. Pahl. *spaxr* twice in *Dēnkart* (ed. Madan) 554.18-9 *apāk aṣsōsgar mart spaxr nē kunišn ut ham-xvaran nē bavišn ē bastān ō šarm rasēt* «one must not feast with a man of mockery, nor eat with him, since surely one comes to shame».

This same word is known in Turfan Mid. Pers. '*spxr* 'feast'<sup>6</sup> in the parable of the captured fortress: *dudē mānāy ō diz paḍ*

<sup>1</sup> An earlier attempt to explain the Sogdian, before the recognition of Khot. *būyysna* and the meaning of *spa-*, was made in «TPS» 1954, p. 134 and 154.

<sup>2</sup> W. Cureton, *Remains of a Very Antient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac*, 1858, p. XI, on Mat. 22.12 (γάμων).

<sup>3</sup> W. B. Henning, «BSOAS», 11, p. 486; O. Hansen, *Berliner Sogdische Texte*, 2, p. 884; E. Benveniste, «Journ. asiatique», 1955, p. 312.

<sup>4</sup> *šp-* from *sp-*, as we have Sogd. *škar-* 'hunt', NPers. *šikār* from older *skar-*, and '*nšpr-* walk upon' from *ham-spar-*.

<sup>5</sup> J. Friedrich, *Heth. Wörterb.*

<sup>6</sup> F. W. K. Müller without translation; Salemann, *Man. Studien*, p. 34 'festmal'; Bartholomae, *Z. altiran. Wörterb.*, p. 152 (from *us-pač-*); R. C. Zaehner, «BSOS», 9, p. 313. The parable in *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, 2, p. 14.

*rafend kē dušmenūn adēn nē vindīd, pas dušmenūn 'ispaxr vīrāst srōd ud nivāy ī vas, avēn ī andar diz ō dīdišn ruzdist, dušmenūn az pas ašar sađ ud diz grift.*

The word can also be cited from NPersian *sparxī* in the phrase *āin ī sparxī* 'ceremony of feasting'.

In Mid. Iran. *spaxr* we have either *spā-*, *spa-* with *-xra-* suffix, or a form *sp-ak-* (from IE *\*sp-ek-*), as we have *stak-* in OInd. *stākati Dhātupāṭha* 19.20 'to resist', Avest. *staxra-*, *staxta-*, Zor. Pahl. *staxra-*, NPers. *istaxr*.

OPers. *spāṁmaida-*<sup>1</sup> occurs in the phrase *uta viθiyā uta spāṁmaidayā* 'both in the viθ-House and in the camp'. The Akkadian equivalent is *ina bitī u ina madaktum*. Here we have the camp set up after a march. It would seem that this life in the tents was partly at least devoted to feasting<sup>2</sup>.

In the Avesta the *hama-spaṁmaīdaya-* is the name of a yearly period of two months ending with five days (*pančak*) of the gāhānbār festival, the fifth day being the festival day proper. The name is used also of the genius of the period. The explanation of the name has long been sought<sup>3</sup>. The year was divided into six two-month periods wherein *maidyošma-* was originally 'midsummer' which placed the *hama-spaṁmaīdaya-* at the autumn equinox (failure of intercalation later displaced these periods). The name survived from the Avestan language in Zor. Pahl. *hamaspaṁmaīdēm* (*Great Bund.* 24.5; and 158.8), where the interpretation by *ham-* for *hama-* and *spāh* 'army' for *spaṁ-* was offered. Al-Bairūnī gave in Arabic script *hmšfθmḍym* interesting for the *-šf-* with *-š-*<sup>4</sup>.

The origin of *spaṁ-* here may be *spa-* with *-t-* suffix (or *sp-* with *-at-*). Possibly however there has been shortening from *\*spāṁma-* before *maīda-*.

<sup>1</sup> E. Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 310; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, s. v.

<sup>2</sup> One can recall the feasting-hall of Bahrām Gōr in the legends of the Xavarnaq. This is the reason for the name Armen. *xoran* for 'tent' from the *xvarana-* 'eating, eating-place' (the interpretation proposed by S. Wikander, 'Le Monde oriental', 36, pp. 1-4, is less acceptable).

<sup>3</sup> Earlier proposals are listed in *Altiran. Worterb.* s. v.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronology*, p. 224, transl. p. 210. S. H. Taqizadeh, *Old Iranian Calendars*, p. 10 ff.

The base OPers. *maida-*, Avest. *maīda-* (with suffix in *maīdaya-*) corresponds to OInd. *Rgv.*, *Atharvav. med-* in *medin-* 'associate'. The word occurs twice in the *Rgveda* but is frequent in the *Atharvaveda*. In the *Rgveda* we find the word in contact with 'wealth' 10.38.2 *syāma te jāyatah śakra medīno | yāthā vayām uśmāsi; tād vāso kṛdhi*. Similarly *Rgv.* 10.84.6 *krátvā no manyo sahā medyēdhi | mahādhanāśya puruhūta saṁsīji*. The word is isolated without verbal use.

The OInd. *-ed-* is always ambiguous arising either from *ai-d* or *az-d*, as in OInd. *nēdiṣṭha-* and Iran. Avest. *nazdišta-*, Pers. *nazdist*. OInd. *mēda-s* 'fat' has *-az-d-* and is connected with Germ. *masta-*, and probably Khot. *mastāña-* 'fodder'<sup>1</sup>. It has therefore no connexion with *Rgv. medin-*. One Avestan Gāthā word also belongs here in *Yasna* 30.9 *mōyastrā* explained by *hanjamanakīh*<sup>2</sup>.

If the Arab.-Pers. *maidān* is, as has been stated<sup>3</sup>, a word of Persian origin its connexions would lie here as a derivative in *-āna-* from *maida-*.

There is now the *hama-* of Avest. *hama-spaṁmaīdaya-*. If, occurring as it does here before *-spaṁ-*, it is taken as an older word comparable to the first component of Sogd. *βγ'ny-šp'*, forming a compound of similar meaning, the *hama-* would give *hama-spaṁ-* 'feast of hama-drinking'. This can be confirmed from Khotanese. The third word with *hūra* and *buysna* is *ha'ma-tci*. In the second part it is easy to recognise a connexion of Khot. *tciña* an adjective 'consisting of yeast' applied to the word *sumq* 'flour' in medical texts. Beside *tciña* formed from *\*tcina-* with *-ya-*, we find also *tcyāña-* with the same meaning<sup>4</sup>. The words are related to Oss. Dig. *k'insā*, Iron *č'yssā* 'dough' (as NPers. *sirīšah* 'dough' and 'leaven') and OInd. *kiṇva-m* 'yeast'.

<sup>1</sup> For *masta-* see H. W. Bailey and A. S. C. Ross, *Wastel*, « English and Germanic Studies », 6, p. 1 ff. For *mastāña-*, « BSOAS », 18, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Recent translation: Barr, *Avesta*, p. 93 « Forbund »; Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre*, « alliance ».

<sup>3</sup> S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 106. More recently E. Herzfeld, *Altpers. Inschr.*, p. 258, otherwise, to *may-*.

<sup>4</sup> Full details elsewhere. The word *tciña* in *Siddhasāra* 100 v 4; in 142 v 1 *tciṁña*; and *tcyāña-* in *P* 2893.184 (*KT*, III. 90).

In *hama-* it is now evident that we have the short-vowel cognate of Khot. *hāmaa-* 'barley meal (Tib. *bag zan*)'<sup>1</sup>. This *hāmaa-* is thus a derivative from *hama-*. From *hāmaa-* we have further the adjective *hāmīnaa-* in *Siddhasāra* 9 r 3 epithet of *khāysa* 'food made of barley meal'. The *hama-* may be taken for 'barley'<sup>2</sup>.

The Avestan *hama-* and this Khot. *hama-* 'barley' can thus be identified. The derivative Khot. *hāmaa-* 'barley meal' survives in *Waxī yūmj* 'flour'<sup>3</sup>.

It is possible to go further in the history of Iran. *hama-* 'barley' QIndian has *samitā-* 'wheat flour' and the derived adjective *sāmīta-*. The adjective is attested in *Suśruta*, but the noun is found later, just as Armen. *cirani* 'purple, red, golden-coloured' is found earlier than *ciran* 'apricot'. There can hardly be a doubt that the two words *hama-* and *samitā-* belong together.

The problem becomes more difficult when the Greek *σεμίδαλις*, Latin *simila* 'finest wheat meal', Assy. *samīdu*, Syr. *samīdā* 'fine meal', and Georg. *samindali* 'wheat', *simindi* 'maize' (maize is a recent import to the Caucasus), *samindo* 'wheat meal' are added.

Beer-brewings took place in the cool period of October as the first of the new year, and in March as the last of the year<sup>4</sup>. The Avestan *hama-spaθ-mādaya-* is according to the present interpretation named by the *-ya-* suffix from the *maida-* 'gathering' to a 'beer-feast' at the end of the period in autumn.

This feasting may be taken as a period of hospitality, as in the case of all feasts. The meaning of the Avestan epithet of this period *aratō.karəθna-*<sup>5</sup> can now be seen. In *arəta-* we have

<sup>1</sup> *Siddhasāra* 152 r 1, and often.

<sup>2</sup> The *hama-* beside *hāmaa-* will thus compare with *Suv. bh.* 33 b 4 *hala-māsta-* 'half month' beside *hālaa-* 'side', and *P* 2825.39.40, *KT*, III, 101, *garma-māštaa-* 'oppressed by heat' beside *grāma-* 'hot' (details in «BSOAS», 21, p. 522, on *maz-*).

<sup>3</sup> *Waxī yūmj* is thus connected with Khot. *hāmaa-*, but not with Khot. *hāma-* 'raw'; Oss. Dig. and Iron *xom*, Parāčī *hāmā*, NPers. *xām*, OInd. *āmā-*. See G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, p. 554 and «Norsk Tidsskr. f. Sprogk.», 12, p. 266.

<sup>4</sup> This was pointed out to me by P. Mathias.

<sup>5</sup> Treated by E. Herzfeld, *AltPers. Inschr.* p. 311.

a word for 'wealth' and in *kar-* 'make, make use of', so that the compound means 'using wealth in a display of hospitality'. In the same way the OInd. *aryamān-* is (*Rgv.* 6.50.1) *abhikṣa-dām* 'provider of food' in charge of hospitality, and the *ārya-* 'owner', like the *arī-*, is the rich owner who is expected to be the hospitable host. The epithet of the *atharvan-* in *Yasna* 42.6 *ašō.īš-* 'seeking *aša-*' may well contain the later form of *arəta-* in this *aratō.karəθna-*.

The third component in the Sogdian word *-kt'kw*, *-qty*, *qt* clearly means 'house', and that is confirmed by the Syriac original *bēθ* 'house'. Then the spelling *-kerty* must be secondary. It seems unnecessary to claim that the *-r-* derives from a word \**špar-*, trajected into the next syllable. Since this Sogd. *kt'k-* 'house' occurs in a compound similar to OPers. *spāθmaida-* it may be claimed that *maida-*, *Rgv. medin-* thus get some confirmation of meanings derived from contexts.

Conjecture has still to try to answer what other IE connexions exist for this *bag-* of *bvīysna* and *βγ'ny-*, *bāgāni*.

The IE system of verbal base and nominal base knows the basic long-vowel type as OInd. *bhā-* 'shine' beside Greek *φῶς*, *φωτός* 'light', with *-u-* in *φαῦος* and *-n-* in *φαν-*. Similarly we find OInd. *sphā-* with *sphāy-* and *sphāv-* beside *sphītā-*. From *stā-* 'stand' we get OInd. *stak-* 'resist'.

Here for 'intoxicate' occur *bā-* in Zor. Pahl. *bātaka-* 'new wine', with velar enlargement *bag-*, and with nasal and velar *bang-* in Zor. Pahl. *bang* 'narcotic'. The same must probably be claimed in *spā-* 'feed to satiety' and *spank-* or *spang-* 'to act as host, entertain guests, keep an inn', as attested in Sogd. Christ. *spnčyr-spñ* 'house-holder', Sogd. *'sp'nčh*, loc. sg. *-yh*, Turfan Med. Pers. *'spynž*<sup>1</sup>, Zor. Pahl. *aspanč* or *aspanj*, NPers. *sipanj* 'inn', Syr. *'špž-*, Georg. *maspindzeli* 'host, hostess at a banquet'. The adjective is found in Armen. *aspanjakan* 'host', rarely *aspanjakan*, like Syriac *'špyzkn-* and Mand. *špnz-* \**špinzā*. Here the Christ. Sogdian decides for the *-nč-*. The Armenian *-nj-* has been modified from *nč* as happened in other groups with *našal*, thus *nt* or *nd* in *žant*, *žand*, or comes from the voiced

<sup>1</sup> Sogd. Buddh. *'sp'nčh* *P* 12.2, Dhuta 41; Pers. *'spynž* «TPS», 1944, p. 114.



-nj-. The Khotanese alone decides between *sp-* and *śp-*. Old Khotanese has *bū-spāmja*, as in the *Avalokiteśvara dhāraṇī* 9 r 2 (KT, III. 3) *ttye śa ttādrāma bū-spāmja kūśāṇa kuṣṭa balysāna śśarīra u āryāva>lokitteśvari baudhisatvā prrabim̐bai aṣṭā* «such *gandha-kuṭi* «shrine of his must be sought where are the relics of buddhas and the image of the bodhisattva Aryāvalokiteśvara». The *gandha-kuṭi*, Prak. *gandhola-* (in Tibetan), is the perfumed room. Here then Khot. *spāmja-* corresponds to Sansk. *kuṭi-*. Khot. -nj- may represent older -n̄ or -ñj-.

A third example to quote here is contained in *rā-* and *rang-*. Ossetic Dig. *irājun/irād-* refers to seething liquid and excited happy minds. This recalls such use as Latin *ferveo* and *fervesco* beside *fermentum*. Beside Oss. *rā-* in *\*vi-rā-y-*, *\*vi-rā-ta-*, we have to put the enlarged form *rang-* with nasal and velar as in *spā-* and *spank-*. This *rang* 'intoxicant drink made of honey' is still used in Swanetian, Mingrelian and Georgian, corresponding to Oss. *rong*<sup>1</sup>. In the Avesta we have *Yasna* 10.8

*vīspe zī anye maiḍyāṇhō aēšma hačinte xrvīm.drvō*  
*āaṭ hō yō haomahe maḍo aša hačaita urvāšmana*  
*raṇjaiti haomahe maḍō*

This would give the sense: «the intoxicant of haoma exhilarates». It would give rather the cognate of *ranga-* 'intoxicant' than of *rang-* 'be light' to which the Zor. Pahlavī gloss *saṇuk ān ī hōm maḍišn u nē čiš-ē garān* would assign it.

From *Zātspram* 2.7 we learn that *bang* is identical with *mang*. His expression is *mang ī bang-ič xwānīhet* «the mang which is also called bang». The same information is conveyed in *Great Bund.* 43.12 *mang ī bēšaz kē ast ī bang-ič xwānēt*<sup>2</sup>. In the *Artāy Vīrāz nāmak* the *mang* is used to render *Virāz* unconscious.

With this *bang* and *mang* we have to associate also Avestan *banha-*, OInd. *Atharvav. bhangā-s*, and Arab.-Pers. *banj*. In the Veda *bhangā-* was applied to the hemp. The OInd. *bhangā-*

<sup>1</sup> V. Abaev. *Oset. jazyk i fol'klor*, pp. 299, 348. I proposed, *Madu*, p. 2, no. 3, to see in *rang* a derivative of the *rā-* of Oss. Dig. *irājun*.

<sup>2</sup> These passages were cited in my *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 111. The regular phrase requires -ič in the relative clause. The *Great Bund.* text here has omitted the *g*.

would probably suffice to prove an older *bh-* unless some contamination has replaced older *b-* by *bh-* here. Finno-Ugrian *Vogul päyx*, Mordvin *panga* are loan-words<sup>1</sup>.

Since both the intoxicant beer and *bang* produce the same or similar effect the basis of the name may be sought in just that effect.

The alternation of *b-* and *m-* in this word *bang* draws attention further to Turfan Mid. Parth. and Pers. *mgwn-* 'brutish' or the like. If it meant 'intoxicated' it could be drawn in here as the *mag-* to correspond to *bag-*. The forms quoted are the following.

1. Parth. *grīv mast mā karāh ku nē bavāh mayōnay* «do not make your self intoxicated that you may not be *mgwn*».
2. » *mast ē ud mayōnay* «you are intoxicated and *mgwn*».
3. » *gandāy ud mayōnay* «stinking and *mgwn*».
4. » *žangēn būd ud tāriy mgwn-aṣdēn pad šahr tāčēnd* «they became pugnacious and dark, *mgwn*-behavoured about the city they run».
5. Pers. *trwm m' kwnyd 'wd mgwn m' bwyd* «repel me not, nor be *mgwn*».
6. Parth. *pd mgwnyft*<sup>2</sup>.

In Zor. Pahlavī the words containing *mag-* are kept distinct from this *mgwn-*, and within the Avestan tradition, as in *maga-vānd* or *mayavand*<sup>3</sup> 'holy'.

Within this present context of exhilarated mind and also the linguistic alternates *b/m*, it is desirable to place *Yasna* 53.4:

*ašāunī ašavabyō manayhō vanjhuš xwānvaṭ hanjhuš mēm.bēduš*  
*mazdā dadāt ahurō daēnayāi vanjhuyāi yavōi vīspāi ā.*

In *hanjhuš-* neut. it is easy to see a derivative of the *\*haha-* attested in Avest. *hahya-*, OInd. *sasā-* 'grass, herb. corn-field, food', *sasyā-* 'grain, fruit'; Celt. Welsh *haidd* 'barley', Gaul. (s)*asia-* 'rye'. I would assign the meaning 'grain' to *hanjhuš-*.

<sup>1</sup> B. Munkácsi, «Keleti Szemle», 8, p. 343; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> The texts are cited and translated in «TPS», 1944, pp. 111-2 by W. B. Henning; M. Boyce, «BSOAS», 13, p. 912.

<sup>3</sup> R. C. Zaehner, «BSOS», 9, p. 104.

The many variants to the following word permit the adoption of J 2 *mām* or K 5 *mā* with *bāduš* or *bāz.uš*. Here we have either older \**mamaduš* or \**mambaduš* in which one could see either a simple reduplication \**ma-mad-uš* as neuter adjective or an intensive reduplication \**man-mad-uš* with *-nm-* replaced by *-mm-* and *-mb-*. The «splendid exhilarant (grain-) drink of Vahman» alludes to his character as possessor of *māyā-*, thus in *Yasna* 43.2 *vañhəuš māyā manan̄hō* «the delights of Vahman», and his character as the *mēnōk rāmēnītār* in the story of Zartušt: *Vahman andar šut, ō vārom ī Zartušt gumēxt, Zartušt bē xāndūt ēē vahman ast mēnōk rāmēnītār*<sup>1</sup>. That is, 'Vahman entered, he mingled in the mind of Zartušt; Zartušt laughed, because Vahman is the spirit exhilarant'. This is the famous «laughter at birth»<sup>2</sup>.

A further case of the alternation *b/m* must be cited here. In Balōči we have West. *badag*, East. *maday* 'to curdle, freeze' from the solidifying effect. The older meaning 'coagulate' is preserved in Khot. *māsta-* 'thick milk', Zor. Pahl., NPers. *māst*, OInd. *māstu-* (*dī* or *dst*?) 'sour cream', WBal. *madag* 'thick milk', EBal. *mastay* 'curds'. The verb occurs in NPers. *māsīdan* 'to coagulate'<sup>3</sup>. Khot. *amāstq n̄ye* 'unfermented curds' renders Tib. *ḥo ma-laṅs-pa*, Sansk. *mandajātaṃ mastu*<sup>4</sup>.

Distinct from this *mad-* 'to thicken' is *mad-* 'to intoxicate' familiar in Khot. *māsta-* 'drunken', Sansk. *matta-* and *māya-* 'intoxication', Sansk. *mada-*<sup>5</sup>. NPers. *mast* 'drunken' is the participle.

A third *mad-* is claimed in Avest. *vīmad-* 'to cure' with Latin *medeor*, *medicus*<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Zātspram*, cap. 8.14-15, K 35 247 r 13; E. W. West, «Sacred Books of the East», 47, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> WP, II, p. 231; W. Geiger, *Etym. d. Balūči* omits; Pok., p. 694.

<sup>4</sup> *Siddhasāra* 20 v 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Sw. bh.* 36 r 1 (quoted above) in *KT*, I. 236.

<sup>6</sup> E. Benveniste, *La doctrine médicale des indoeuropéens*, in «Rev. hist. relig.», 130 (1945), p. 5.

### Additional Notes

1. - P. 117. The form *Ardavēl* is quoted in V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, p. 170.

2. - P. 119. Add NPers. *čādar* 'veil', Turkish (from Iranian) *čatar* 'tent'. The meanings are like Zor. Pahl. *partak* (*Nīrang-astān* 171.13), Arm. *partak*, NPers. *pardah* 'veil; wall of tent'.

3. - P. 119. Waigali *kilā* 'boiled cheese' has lost intervocalic *-t-* (like *zamā* 'son-in-law'), not retroflex *-t-*.

4. - P. 120. Ossetic also has *cirāydārān* 'candlestick'.

5. - P. 121. Georgian *xerx-i*, Čečen, Inguš *xerx* 'saw' would represent an older form with *-e-*.

6. - P. 122. To Khot. *hamjsul-* add Oss. Dig. *idzulun* 'be bright', used of the sun in Geuārgi Māliiti, *Irāf*, p. 46 *ä säumon tunā c'etemä/xor idzulgä nivānduj*; of the mind *idzulun* means 'be merry'.

7. - P. 123. R. Bleichsteiner, *Das Volk der Alanen*, cited Oss. *fādun* in this connexion. V. Abaev, *Oset. jazyk i fol'klor*, p. 188, proposed to read *mār-*.

8. - P. 124. The fuller vocalisation occurs in Swanetian *māc'-rani* 'reddish', *xoc'rana* 'redder', *mac'arne* 'reddest', *ac'rāni* 'it reddens'. The word is applied to the *raxš* horse in *c'arni rašsu* 'on the red *raš* horse'. For these words G. Deeters, *Das kharthvelische Verbum*, pp. 132, 184; A. Dirr, *Einleitung in die kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. 116, and Nižeradze, *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mestnostej i plemen Kavkaza*, 31, *Svanskije teksty*, p. 68.

9. - P. 126. For the *-asta-* of *karasta-* note also the Zor. Pahl. *tapast*, *tapastak* 'carpet', Armen. *tapastak*, quoted in H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 8.

10. - P. 133. Khot. *īra-* 'stone' may, if the *ī-* has replaced older *uī-* by *i-*umlaut, be joined with Oss. Dig. *urä*, Iron *ūr* 'stone', adj. *ujräg*, *ürdžyn*.

11. - P. 136. From the north-central Čečen group is cited Inguš *masxām* (Genko, *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, V, 757).

12. - P. 137. The Greek σκηνή was equally the place of feasting in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, as in 4.2.37 διπλάσια ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐκάστη σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ παρεσκευασμένα.

13. — P. 138. — V. Pisani, *Riv. studi orientali* 14., (1933), n. 9, proposed \**mei-dho-* in connexion with *māda-*.

14. — P. 142. — In *Vidēvdāt* 19.41 *banhem vībanhem ava. janyāt* is rendered by *mast yudt mast bē zat ku yudt hač mað mast*, indicating that the commentator associated the word with intoxication by wine.

H. W. Bailey.

# ARABO *gal'a*.

H. W. Bailey nel presente fascicolo degli «Annali»<sup>1</sup> ci offre tutti gli elementi per risolvere in maniera — crediamo — definitiva la questione dell'etimologia dell'arabo *gal'a* 'fortezza, castello (su collina)' (> turco *kale* 'rocca, cittadella', cf. in Occidente *Caltagirone, Calatafimi, Alcalá*, ecc.).

M. Streck, nell'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, II, Leyde-Paris 1927, p. 710, ricorda che già S. Fränkel<sup>2</sup> pensava a una provenienza persiana, dubitando seriamente dell'origine semitica di questo vocabolo, pur semitico all'apparenza ma non associabile ad alcuna radice semitica<sup>3</sup>.

Successivamente al Fränkel, anche A. Siddiqi<sup>4</sup> ha sospettato un'origine persiana, e più recentemente M. Streck ha ribadito essere il punto di partenza il persiano *kalāt* (frequente anche come toponimo), che egli intende, con F. C. Andreas, ampliamento di *kalā* (presente nella toponomastica *māzandarānī*) mediante un *-t* anorganico.

<sup>1</sup> Vedi sopra p. 118 e sgg.

<sup>2</sup> S. Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, p. 237: «Genau zugesehen hat es im Arabischen von *ql'* 'herausreissen' *ql'* 'Kothklumpen' keine Ableitung. So mag also das pers. *kalāt* in der That das Original unseres Wortes sein».

<sup>3</sup> In semitico sembrano presenti due *ql'*: uno vale in arabo 'svellere', in gē'ēz 'scoprire', 'togliere' (veste, velo, ecc.), in ebraico 'scolpire' (< 'levare incidendo'), con un derivato nominale, in ebraico e in arabo (< aramaico; S. Fränkel, op. cit., p. 224), col senso di 'velo, velame, vela'; il secondo *ql'* significa 'scagliare con la fionda' (arabo, ebraico, etiopico). Qualunque possa essere il rapporto tra queste due radici, l'arabo *gal'a* 'fortezza' è da esse distinto semanticamente, anche se le nozioni di 'fortezza' e di 'scagliare con la fionda' evocano un identico ambiente particolare (su ciò vedi oltre).

<sup>4</sup> A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, p. 70.